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July 6, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

The Court Reaches for Total Power

FORREST DAVIS

A Thought for the Fourth of July

JOHN DOS PASSOS

The UN Verdict on Hungary

AN EDITORIAL

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . ROBERT PHELPS

FRANK S. MEYER · RUSSELL KIRK · SAM M. JONES

REVILO OLIVER · F. R. BUCKLEY · ANTHONY LEJEUNE

For the Record

Pennsylvania's Republican-controlled legislature slashed $70 million from Democratic Governor George Leader's budget and cut proposed taxes by $100 million. He thereupon declared it to be a "bad legislature . . . that wasn't concerned with the needs of the people."

Since the end of World War Two, American citizens have sent $6 billion abroad as private, voluntary gifts . . . The Commerce Department has added 200 "non-strategic" commodities to those which exporters may sell to Russia and her European satellites without filing special applications.

Frank W. Brewster, now awaiting the court's decision on a charge of contempt of Congress, has been reappointed chairman of the Western Conference of Teamsters by Dave Beck . . . Passage of an Illinois right-to-work bill was blocked when a thousand union members jammed the gallery of the House. The bill was referred back to the Judiciary Committee.

A growing number of American businessmen are cancelling or postponing plans for expansion as a result of the higher interest rates required by banks . . . Machine-toolmakers' incoming business, last month, fell to the lowest level in two and a half years. New orders are 52 per cent lower than in May 1956.

Three adults and four children were recently escorted aboard a Scandinavian Airlines plane by a Soviet Embassy attaché. The repatriates, who claimed to be returning to the Soviet Union willingly, disappeared several weeks ago when their reservations to leave the U.S. first came due . . . The Commission on Government Security has urged the federal government to run security checks on personnel manning American airports, seaports, ships and airliners. These men, the commission said, are strategically placed to sabotage air transport, serve as "couriers for hostile powers," or "engage in espionage."

Ammon Hennacy, associate editor of the anarchist Catholic Worker, is picketing the Atomic Energy Commission headquarters in Las Vegas and undergoing a twelve-day hunger strike in protest against the detonation of H-bombs . . . A California woman has asked civil defense authorities to notify her well in advance of enemy attack so that she may flee her state.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

• A number of Senators, determined to find effective methods of defending the integrity of the legislature against the Supreme Court's encroachments, have proposed to Senate leader Lyndon Johnson that one of the contumacious committee witnesses be brought before the bar of the Senate for direct sentencing to jail by the Senate itself, if it finds the charges justified. This method of handling contempt of Congress, used exclusively prior to 1857 and occasionally thereafter as late as the 1920's, rests on the independent powers of the legislature, unfiltered through court procedures and arbitrary judicial interpretation of Congress' "intentions." It is a tried and good method.

• In the bitter fight for political control of California, recognized as a key to 1960, Vice President Nixon has indicated that if it comes to a showdown next year he will probably support William Knowland against Goodwin Knight as Republican gubernatorial candidate. This would seem to mean that Mr. Nixon wants to avoid a premature and possibly losing battle against his principal rival for the 1960 Presidential nomination. Meanwhile Republicans in California, alarmed by signs of a Democratic upsurge, press Governor Knight to change his mind and take the 1958 nomination for U.S. Senator in a unity Knowland-Knight ticket that the Vice President could back without risk.

• At ceremonies of welcome to Mayflower II, marred somewhat by squalls among her financial backers and hoarse cries from the non-Luce press that the whole venture is a cheap publicity stunt in the P. T. Barnum tradition, Vice President Nixon came out strongly for the Pilgrim Fathers.

• Never has the First Amendment been taken so seriously by so many justices as in the spate of recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions involving Communists and those who are sympathetic to the loquacity of Communism. But, lest certain justices be suspected of unswerving logic in their devotion to the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Arthur Krock has shrewdly called to the attention of his readers that the Court is not notable for consistency when it comes to applying the First Amendment in labor decisions: The Court has actually turned workers over to unions which violate their members' right to support views and candidates of their own choosing. In other words, the Court appears to care more about the rights of Communists than constitutional rights.

• In a continuing application of the Eisenhower policy of "disengagement," the White House announced at the end of Japanese Premier Kishi's visit that all U. S. ground troops will be withdrawn from Japan in the near future. Announcements of other withdrawals or reductions in countries where our forces have been stationed are expected to follow. Some sad-eyed Pentagon officers refer to the new policy as "the strategy of creating vacuums."

• The President's Commission on Government Security has stirred up a hornet's nest by its proposal that Congress enact legislation making it a crime for any person to disclose without proper authorization information that has been classified "top secret" by an executive arm of the government. As Mr. James Reston rightfully points out in the *New York Times*, such legislation would have kept certain great reporters of the past from breaking news stories about Teapot Dome and the Yalta deal with Stalin. Just prior to the congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster the Truman Government tried to slip a criminal penalty for "top secret" disclosures through Congress. The penalty, if enacted into law, would have stopped the Pearl Harbor investigation in its tracks. Senator Homer Ferguson quickly caught on to the meaning of the gag bill and alerted his colleagues in time to kill it. As he pointed out at the time, under such legislation any executive agency could put itself beyond criticism for anything at all merely by using an ink pad and a stamp.

• The Senate has voted for a federal dam at Hell's Canyon on the Snake River 45 to 38, and the bill has since gone to the House, where sentiment is "growing" in its favor. Whether Congress can muster the two-thirds vote to pass a Hell's Canyon dam bill over a Presidential veto is, of course, a separate question. But Presidents come and go and the public power people never sleep. Hell's Canyon may yet be an important issue in the 1958 congressional elections.

• Three leading atomic scientists report that the radioactive fall-out from hydrogen bomb explosions has been reduced by 95 per cent; that with further research it can be made "essentially negligible." The physicists, Dr. Edward Teller, "Father of the H-bomb," Dr. Ernest Lawrence, director of the Radiation Laboratory at the University of California, and

Dr. Mark Mills, head of the laboratory's Theoretical Department, further disclosed that a miniature H-bomb, a tactical battlefield weapon which can be followed up by ground troops without fear of radioactive cover, is being successfully developed. If the rhetoric of our pacifists, and the proponents of disarmament, is not to be destroyed, the report will have to be classified "Top Secret."

• With foresight, diligence and some secrecy the Communists have strengthened and enlarged their forces in North Korea ever since, in 1953, they signed a truce agreeing to do no such thing. Then, in stark violation of every precedent the free world has set, the United Nations announced that a truce is not binding if it does not bind both sides; consequently, Sabre jets, F-100 faster-than-sound fighters, and new electronic equipment will now be sent to the United Nations divisions in South Korea. No wonder the North Korean Communist Party newspaper has seen in the decision to make South Korea's forces equal to those in the North "an unscrupulous criminal machination of the United States imperialist aggressors."

• I. P. Bardin, Vice President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has declared that the Soviet artificial moons will be sent into orbit within the next few months. Although some skeptics believe these Soviet predictions to be routine Communist boasting of their "we invented the wheel" type, Dr. I. M. Levitt, director of the Franklin Institute Planetarium, maintained in a recent speech before the Air Force Association that Russia will beat us in the moon contest because their entire rocket program is well ahead of ours. They got their current lead, Dr. Levitt said, because in 1945 they took over all the major German rocket enterprises—equipment, scientists and skilled technicians—except for the single one from which the United States grabbed "the brains" only.

• On June 25, 1957, for the first time in the memory of any of them, the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW found themselves in total agreement with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Writing about the Communist theft of China, Mrs. Roosevelt said: "The establishment of this new regime seems to have cost 800,000 lives, according to the admission of the present government. This does not seem to be a happy way to inaugurate reform." But, added the unfathomable Mrs. Roosevelt (and here we part company with her) she has still the greatest respect for Mme. Sun Yat-sen, who is one of the leaders of the gang.

• The recent twitting of Congress by Chairman A. J. Muste of the Communist-front American Forum for Socialist Education brings to mind an earlier effort of the selfsame Rev. Mr. Muste to win martyrdom. During World War Two, Mr. Muste—63 years old at the time—refused to register for the draft. He stored his furniture, rented his apartment, packed his bags and waited for the law. But nothing happened. The Department of Justice ignored the Reverend and his would-be conscientious objector friends. They were unable to get their apartments back—which so irritated some of their wives that (or so the story goes) the ladies threatened to divorce their husbands as darn fools.

• The Committee of One Million has bought a page in the *New York Times* International Edition to set down the lessons of the past on trading with the enemy: 1. There are no "safe" exports; the scrap metal sold to Japan, the oil to Italy, the "non-strategic" goods to Germany were "turned into bombs which devastated half of Asia," "powered the planes which slaughtered the people of Ethiopia" and built the Nazi *Wehrmacht* and *Luftwaffe*. 2. The vast population of the Soviet bloc does not constitute a rich market for Western overproduction; in 1955 the balance of trade with the Sino-Soviet bloc was "favorable to the Communists by almost 400 million dollars." 3. "It is naive to expect that an agent of international Communism such as Mao Tse-tung would leave the . . . winning side"—and particularly naive to suppose that he could be tempted to do so by the granting of vulgar material concessions by the capitalist powers; in April, Mao Tse-tung congratulated Janos Kadar for "smashing the intrigues of the counterrevolutionaries" with the aid of the "brave soldiers of the Soviet Union." Those interested in reprints of the ad may write to: The Committee of One Million, Suite 805, 8 East 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

• The Danish government is considering a plan to force taxpayers in the middle brackets to buy a given number of government bonds over a period of three years in order to "stabilize" the economy. Though John Maynard Keyes suggested that Britain pay for World War Two by such a device, this is the first instance we know of a "free" country daring to entertain the idea of forcing its securities down the throats of customers in a time of peace. True, the Danish government proposes to let the "purchasers" sell the bonds in the open market once they have received them. But when one has been compelled at gun-point to take something, its value in the open market will be subject to a terrific discount. What the Danish government is proposing is, quite simply, a capital levy on the middle class. The reaction of the Danish parliament to the whole nefarious scheme will be worth watching.

Verdict on Hungary

The 150,000 word report on Hungary is the most remarkable—indeed, the only remarkable—document ever issued by the U.N. It is remarkable as an achievement of historical research, and astonishing among modern diplomatic products in its straightforward statement of facts and conclusions. These facts were assembled and these conclusions reached, moreover—and it is this that is most remarkable of all—by a five-member committee made up of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia and Uruguay: all small nations, two of them just emerging from colonial status, one with a government publicly inclined toward neutralist friendship with Moscow.

The report examines and disproves every element in the Communist version of the Hungarian uprising. The uprising, the evidence proves, was in no way fomented either by internal "reactionary circles" or by Western powers. It was "a spontaneous national uprising," spurred by "long-standing grievances," Russian oppression prominent among them. It was led, "from start to finish," by Hungarian "students, workers, soldiers and intellectuals."

Soviet "massive armed intervention" was deliberate, planned in advance, and unauthorized by official Hungarian invitation or by the terms of the Warsaw Pact.

"Basic human rights of the Hungarian people were violated by the Hungarian Governments prior to 23 October 1956, and . . . such violations have been resumed since 4 November." The Committee's evidence confirms the accounts of terror and of mass deportations of Hungarians to the Soviet Union.

The so-called "Kadar government" is a Russian puppet, and has no claim to legitimacy. It was set up "by Soviet armed forces . . . in opposition to a government which enjoyed the overwhelming support of the people of Hungary." And today as six months ago, "there has been no evidence of popular support for Mr. Kadar's Government." Kadar's regime rests solely on terror and Soviet tanks.

NATIONAL REVIEW, believing it almost self-evident that the only honorable conclusion from this report would be to break off diplomatic relations with the aggressor government and its puppet and to move at once for their expulsion from the UN; and yet knowing that nothing will be done except a bit of talking —NATIONAL REVIEW has tried to imagine what can possibly be in the minds of our responsible officials as they ponder the unassailably documented account. Are their thoughts, if their words were brought into accord with what they will not do, to be imagined somewhat as the following?

Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Ambassador to the UN:

"The report on Hungary is one more proof that the UN is mankind's best hope. The General Assembly —which is scheduled to meet some time next autumn —is of course the only proper forum in which to explain the official government position. As for the proposed immediate emergency meeting, I think it going a bit too far to ask the delegates to give up their well-earned summer vacations. And now if you will excuse me, I am late for a cocktail party that the Soviet delegate is giving in honor of the Hungarian delegation."

Harold Stassen, Special Assistant to the President (telepathized in London): "My friend Valerian Zorin and I are convinced that the report on Hungary removes the last barrier to a speedy agreement on the thirty-three step disarmament plan. To disprove the charges that the United States is not as sincere as the Soviet Union, I am accepting Mr. Zorin's proposals in toto. And now if you will excuse me, I am late for a cocktail party that the Soviet Embassy is giving for the disarmament negotiators."

Christian Herter, Under Secretary of State: "Frankly, we think it lucky that the International Atomic Agency Treaty got confirmed before the report on Hungary came out. And now if you will excuse me, I have to go to a tomato juice party the Indian Embassy is giving for the Soviet ambassador."

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State: "The re-

port on Hungary takes us to the brink, and the art of statesmanship consists of getting to the brink and then running faster than a rabbit backwards, before you have to take some sort of action about something. The UN special committee at least proved our point that nobody can rightfully accuse the United States of helping anybody win freedom from Soviet rule. And now if you will excuse me, I have to go to a slivovitz party at the Yugoslav Embassy in honor of the execution of Draja Mihailovitch."

Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court: "As a member of the judiciary I would naturally never dream of interfering in the affairs of the political branches of the government."

The President: "I have not yet had the full opportunity to study the UN report, but from what I have seen and what I am advised, and relying to a certain extent on what the newspapers have said and what my staff tells me of the contents, I think that it would be fair to say that the UN Committee has done an honest and conscientious piece of work, and I know that there may be certain objections to it and I feel that the Soviet government may be quite sincere in criticizing certain parts, but I believe that we can all say that now we can have the proper perspective on what happened in Hungary, and can put that in its proper place and go on to the tasks that lie ahead, and if we can get the Russian leaders to agree to the exchange of TV and radio time I am sure we can overcome their misunderstandings and make them realize we are sincere in asking for disarmament and peace. And now if you will excuse me, I've got to sign the bill on aid to Communist Poland."

Disarmament Notes

We here bring up to date "The Case for Disarmament" (NATIONAL REVIEW, June 15) with a few recent dispatches:

Quemoy. Chinese Communist artillery batteries in Amoy resume heavy shelling of Nationalist-held offshore islands. More than 9,000 rounds fired by Communists on June 24, exceeding all previous records.

Budapest. Executions of Hungarian students and intellectuals continue.

Cairo. Three Soviet submarines arrive in Alexandria harbor, are turned over to nominal Egyptian command for Mediterranean operations manned by Soviet "technicians."

Peiping. Communist radio announces that "Korean armistice terms will be defended by arms."

Seoul. Nineteen Soviet late-model MIGs fly foray over Korean neutral zone.

Port Said. For first time since 1917, Russian naval units (two destroyers and a Navy tanker) make transit of Suez Canal into Red Sea.

Three Before Breakfast

For twenty years the federal government has been milking the states, or the people in the states, of tax money to pay for a thousand-and-one separate things which the Founding Fathers would have considered quite out of bounds for a national government to undertake. Scholars have studied old parchments in Rome under federal grants; foreign nations have been presented with money to shore up socialism; Connecticut citizens have been paying the electric light bills of the Tennessee Valley area as well as their own by way of federal raids on their pockets. The whole thing is a scandal, as everyone realizes (though passively, for the most part) when the federal Internal Revenue man presents his bill.

Now comes Eisenhower, cooing like a dove at the Forty-ninth Annual Governors Conference at Williamsburg, Virginia. With a noble gesture the President has offered to sponsor a federal tax cut *provided* the states will step in and tax their citizens to pay for schools, slum clearance, road safety, and so on. He has urged a federal-state task force to consider how a redivision of governmental functions and revenue might be effected. Some of the governors, both Southern and Northern, have hailed the Presidential conversion to "states rights."

We say the whole thing is a phony. To begin with, the states can't possibly keep any significant amounts of tax money within their own borders as long as the progressive federal income tax exists: the temptation to seize the substance of citizens to pay for such things as the storage of cotton, the construction of dams at Hell's Canyon and elsewhere, the building of swimming pools at Accra, the gift of teething rings to babies on the Ganges, and the cost of the British-French abdication at Suez, is entirely too strong to allow for any fiscal maneuvering by the states. But this is not the real point. The truth is that Eisenhower has no conception whatsoever of states rights in their historic context.

When the Constitution (with the Bill of Rights) was originally accepted by the states, it contained a provision (the Tenth Amendment) which said that all powers not specifically delegated to the federal government were reserved to the states, or the citizens thereof. Among the "reserved powers" were such things as control of schools and local real estate conditions, and the right of citizens to judge the extent of their own charities to places like Accra or India. Even the assumed federal power to pay for cotton storage or the Soil Bank comes under a tortured reading of the wholly unspecific general welfare and interstate commerce clauses; certainly the Founding Fathers had no such grants of power in mind when they were writing the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

If Eisenhower truly believed in states rights, he would say to the states: "Here, keep your tax money. It's up to your own citizens to spend it wisely, for schools, for aids to commerce, and for overseas charity, in accordance with their own desires." But the Administration, which trusts neither the states nor the people to spend money for themselves, is unwilling to let go under the terms of the Tenth Amendment.

A prescription: let the President repeat the Tenth Amendment to himself three times every morning before breakfast. And let him repeat it at least once each time he drives off the first tee.

Younger Statesmen

The Young Republicans, meeting in Washington the other day to adopt their own platform, came through with some significant surprises. It seems that they take more seriously than some of their leaders the idea that the Republican Party should offer alternatives to the New-Fair Dealism which has been espoused by those who call themselves Modern Republicans.

The Young Republican platform expresses pride in Dwight D. Eisenhower, and pledges its adherents to work for a Republican Congress in 1958. But its pride in the President and its willingness to support Republicans of whatever vintage do not extend to the point of endorsing everything in the Eisenhower-Modern Republican program. On the contrary, the Young Republican platform goes flatly against Modern Republicanism in at least six of its provisions:

> "We are unalterably opposed to federal financial aid for general public education and school construction."

> ". . . . It is a matter of simple justice . . . that we should permit our people to spend a greater percentage of their incomes as they choose. It is time that rates of taxation enacted for the purpose of financing a war were ended."

> "We note with concern that many of the rights and liberties guaranteed to American citizens by the Constitution of the United States are in jeopardy of being compromised by certain treaties and agreements with other nations. . . . We recommend that our government re-examine the various Status of Forces agreements with the purpose of insuring that the American flag and all it stands for will protect each member of our armed forces, even as they are defending this nation and the Constitution."

> "We continue to oppose UN membership for Communist China. . . ."

> "The following specific legislative proposals deserve the expeditious attention of the Congress. . . . A clear-cut declaration that the enactment of internal security legislation by the Federal Government shall not operate to suspend the enforcement of state legislation in the field of sedition. . . . An unmistakably clear declaration that the penalties of the Smith Act are to apply to all cases in which overthrow of the government is advocated."

> "We urge that the Taft-Hartley law be amended to prohibit compulsory union membership."

The Right to Destroy a Right

Objective: Absolute social equality between Whites and Negroes, interpreted as a guarantee that Whites and Negroes, independently of their own wishes and of the will of local communities, shall learn in the same schools, travel in the same vehicles, work at the same jobs, worship in the same churches, eat in the same restaurants, live in the same neighborhoods or houses, vote in the same booths.

Means: Any.

And, therefore, the Liberal Establishment does not need to think twice, or even once, about the abrogation of jury trial in the pending Civil Rights Bill (as it is named in the fanciful lexicon of Liberalism).

Some commentators try to pass off the no-trial provision as nothing more than the long accepted power of judges to punish for contempt. The contention is from ignorance or hypocrisy. A judge has traditionally held the right to punish disorderly behavior within his own courtroom: a refusal to answer proper questions; a deliberate violation of such specific judicial orders as to appear in his court on a given date or to abide by the decision of a trial or to refrain from certain actions pending the determination of a moot issue.

But under the Civil Rights Bill a federal judge, on application of the Attorney General, could—without jury trial—put any citizens of any locality into jail, on his own bare finding that somehow, somewhere, they had in some manner interfered with the voting or other civil rights of someone.

The Liberals have, when pressed, only one real argument for their no-jury clause. A Southern jury, they say, cannot be relied on to convict a white man for violating a Negro's rights. Their remedy is to violate one of the most fundamental of the civil rights of *all* citizens, white *and* black: the right of an accused man to a trial of the facts in his case by a jury of his peers.

Although the proposed bill is a gross instance of "sectional legislation," its implications are not con-

fined to the disciplining of the South. Under its provisions there is no reason why the editor of NATIONAL REVIEW—or even of the *New York Post*—could not be hauled up weekly on an allegation that an editorial had interfered with the rights of some citizen somewhere.

Even from their own point of view, the Liberals might be well advised to remember that they may not control all the judiciary all the time.

F. O. B.?

In a letter dealing with the Girard case, and the general Status of Forces problem, a reader has advanced what, in a recollection of Jonathan Swift, he terms a Modest Proposal:

"We Americans have to make everyone in the world happy, *and we are not doing it.* Allowing foreign courts to imprison our soldiers was supposed to cheer up 79 nations of the world—make them forget their envy, nagging inferiority, poverty, lack of opportunity, and in some cases, military disgrace. But it didn't. They jail our men, yet still snarl as they stretch out their hands for our money. As the great Lenin said, 'What's to be done?'

"Pondering this problem as I rolled along, I thought of a modest proposal. We are insulting great and sovereign nations when we ask them to go to the trouble and expense of indicting and convicting our people. Who are we to take up other people's time in demanding defenses for our uncultured GI's? We can and must do better than that: *we must deliver up our GI prisoners already processed and caged!* The GI cages should be designed and built in Washington, and then shipped, with contents, to the various countries after our State Department has worked out the quotas. I would suggest we start by assigning Ethiopia 3 cages; Japan, 2,000 cages; Ceylon, 4 cages; Italy, 250 cages; India, 30 cages; Denmark, 10 cages; United Kingdom, 300 cages; and France, 400 cages. The other 68 countries in which our men are stationed could be serviced by the State Department as fast as additional cages could be prepared and shipped.

"The more I think of this proposal, the sounder it seems. It would make the Status of Forces agreements unnecessary and provide an entertaining and educational spectacle for the vistors at each European or Oriental zoo or park of culture."

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Locke on the Smith Act

In the week of the Fourth of July it is fitting to pay homage to old John Locke, the seventeenth-century English philosopher whose ideas on civil government (and even his phraseology) were lifted by Thomas Jefferson and placed bodily into the text of the Declaration of Independence.

It is fitting, also, to remember that Locke was an extreme advocate of toleration: he believed that government had no business interfering with the thoughts and expressions of minorities. But Locke, it might be recalled to the Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court, made one exception to his rule of toleration: he believed in freedom for any and all religious sects *save those* which held it the religious duty of their adherents to work for the overthrow of the duly constituted civil government.

In modern terms, Locke argues against freedom for the secular religion of Communism, which has designs on civil government wherever any two- or multi-party system exists. The man who stood, figuratively, at the elbow of Thomas Jefferson when that Virginia gentleman was proclaiming the "unalienable" rights of the individual to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" would palpably have been for the Smith Act. That's a thought worth remembering this Fourth-of-July week.

The Court Reaches for Total Power

In its decision of June 17 the Warren Court, says one of the most erudite of American journalists, has thrown down a gage which Congress must take up unless it is willing to abdicate

FORREST DAVIS

The 17th of June was a Decision Day in the vast, muted, alabastrine palace of the United States Supreme Court, a steamingly humid, unseasonable day without. The decisions announced within may well mark the date in future as our 18th Brumaire—the occasion on which the Court asserted its power over the Congress as on that November day in 1799 the Napoleon Consulate seized power from the Council of the Five Hundred.

On June 17 the Court, in its Watkins decision, announced itself, as dissenting Justice Tom C. Clark phrased it, the "Grand Inquisitor and supervisor of congressional investigations." That decision, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, arrogated to the Court by profuse *obiter dicta* command over a vital function of the Congress, derived from Lord Coke's description of the House of Commons as the "general inquisitors of the realm" and from long usage and precedent. In its decision in the California Communist cases, acquitting five and ordering new trials for nine other defendants, the Court repealed one section of the Smith Act, an act previously held constitutional by this Court. It wrote law by establishing a new standard, under which a Communist scarcely could be found guilty of conspiring to overthrow this government by force unless apprehended on the barricades, faggot in one hand, Tommy-gun in the other; and the Court usurped the ancient prerogative of a jury to be the sole judge of the facts at trial.

In short, on June 17 the Warren Court (bearing the Chief Justice's name in some public derogation because to him is attributed the stiffening of the will to power in certain of his associates) precipitated a constitutional crisis long in the making which, should Congress defend its prerogatives, will give rise to a struggle for power reminiscent of the quarrels between King and Commons in Stuart and Hanoverian England.

Even more frighteningly, the Court on June 17 confirmed the public judgment that in all cases dealing with Communism it hastens to the side of those guilty or accused of bearing a part in the Great Conspiracy, fathered in Moscow, which the Executive and the Congress repeatedly have declared to be a "clear and present danger."

Absolutism

The only visible beneficiary of the Court's solicitude for the Communist cause is that cause itself; a fact to which the New York *Daily Worker* exuberantly testified. The Court, because it speaks in the name of civil liberties, is often described as "liberal." Yet as it suppresses the powers of the Congress, as it spreads the broad mantle of its protection over the Communist apparatus, it is reactionary; as reactionary as the endeavor to subvert and betray our fluid, flexible, tractable but often uncomprehending society is reactionary. Where the Court, beyond the reach of the citizen, arrogates to itself the irresponsible right to make law *de novo* (as in the school cases); where it blurs the line between the state and society (as in the Girard College case); where it amends the law capriciously (as in the California Communist cases); the Court is not only reactionary but tinged with the political vice of the twentieth century: absolutism.

Four decisions of June 17 conformed to the Court's pattern set in the Steve Nelson appeal from a Pennsylvania conviction. Two—the reversal of the conviction of John T. Watkins, an Illinois labor leader, for contempt of Congress, and the California Communist rulings—bespoke a revolutionary impulse in the Court, *i.e.*, a desire to realign the power relationships of the state and to magnify the Court into the sole legitimate author of the law of the land.

What the Court did in Watkins was to ride down the congressional right to investigate, to press it within narrow limits of legislative intent, to surround witnesses with a wall of immunity, and specifically to deny the Congress' right "to expose for the sake of exposure," which was the Chief Justice's belittling term for the right of "informing." A right which Woodrow Wilson, in his *Congressional Government*, placed above even the Congress' legislative function! Said Wilson, of a right pretty well taken for granted and highly regarded by Liberals, including two members of the Court, before the Congress began seeking light on the Communist threat in our midst:

> . . . even more important than legislation is the instruction and guidance in political affairs which the people might receive from a body which kept all national concerns suffused in a broad daylight of discussion. . . .

To suffuse national concerns in Mr. Wilson's "broad daylight" requires that the Congress be free to inform itself, as well as the people, through the investigative process with power to subpoena persons and papers and to punish refractory and obstructive witnesses for contempt.

The Watkins decision, by adding the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and the common-law right of privacy to the Fifth Amendment as a screen between Congress and the witness, makes future inquiries dependent on the leave of those under investigation.

Congress' right to free inquiry, struck down by the Chief Justice and five associates in supposed deference to the citizen's right freely to discuss, has been maintained in large part by Liberals. Two concurring justices in the Watkins decision, Hugo L. Black and Felix Frankfurter, upheld the congressional prerogative to the full when the reluctant witnesses were businessmen or corrupt politicians. In a *New Republic* article of May 21, 1924, revealingly entitled "Hands Off the Investigations," Mr. Frankfurter eloquently affirmed the right searchingly to inquire.

He wrote: "The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names 'dragged through the mud' . . . The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry. . . ."

In 1936, Black was conducting as chairman of the Senate's lobby committee an inquiry into the practices of certain corporate witnesses. He wrote feelingly for the February *Harper's* magazine, under the title "Inside a Senate Investigation," of the dodges employed by witnesses to withhold papers and escape his questioning. Senator Black as a matter of course militantly upheld the right of his committee to penetrate the "special privilege of secrecy" claimed by witnesses. He witheringly dismissed any invocation of the right of privacy. Wrote Black:

> There is no power on earth that can tear away the veil behind which powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups operate save the sovereign legislative power armed with the right of subpoena and search. . . . Notwithstanding . . . continuous opposition, the House and Senate have uniformly sustained the right of their committees to obtain such evidence [from balky witnesses] since the first congressional investigation was ordered by the House in 1792. The courts have upheld them.

It is clear that Justice Black does *not* regard Communist agents and all who serve Moscow as members of "powerful and audacious and unscrupulous groups" from whom the veil may only be torn away by the "sovereign legislative power." Nor does Justice Frankfurter currently hold that Congress' writs should run against witnesses able but unwilling to reveal the scope and nature of Moscow's endeavor to undo our society.

The Kilbourn Case

In reaching his decision in the Watkins case, the Chief Justice relied upon an all but forgotten and long neglected Supreme Court case, *Kilbourn v. Thompson,* 103 U.S. 168, decided in 1881 and a rather singular finding. Warren held that the legislative purpose behind the questioning of Watkins had not been disclosed to him with "indisputable clarity."

This assertion Justice Clark disputed in his dissenting opinion, bluntly and specifically. Clark noted that the committee chairman remarked upon opening the hearing that the House had referred to the committee (the House Un-American Activities Committee) a bill which, if enacted, would limit the benefits of the National Labor Act to unions not Communist-controlled. It was understood, said Clark, that the committee was inquiring into the extent of Communist influence in unions in the Chicago area and that Watkins clearly knew the legislative purposes, as was evidenced by his formal statement.

Clark obviously thought this objection, upon which the Chief Justice based the reversal of Watkins' conviction, a quibble. Upon *Kilbourn v. Thompson* Warren relied for *obiter dicta* questioning the propriety of the Un-American Activities Committee's possession of the subpoena power, Congress' right to interrogate private persons and the right to any inquiry where a narrow legislative intent is not proclaimed.

The contention that Watkins was not sufficiently apprised of the legislative intent can be understood best by a reference to Kilbourn. For there the 1881 Court found, with some reason, that the House, in establishing a committee to inquire into an aspect of the historic crash of the banking firm, Jay Cooke & Co., had neglected to state or imply a legislative intent. To bring Watkins into line with Kilbourn, therefore, it was necessary to raise a doubt about the current committee's proclamation of intent.

The Kilbourn citation itself casts a reflection upon the liberalism of the Court's motives. As the only Supreme Court decision attacking the congressional right to free inquiry, it has drawn the devastating fire of liberal historians of the court for three generations. The House obviously was acting in its "informing" capacity when it authorized the inquiry into a real estate pool involved in the Cooke failure. Kilbourn, the pool manager, resisted the committee, was adjudged guilty of contempt, imprisoned, gained freedom on a writ of *habeas corpus* and sued the Speaker, the committee members and the Sergeant-at-Arms, Thompson (from whom the case derives half its title), for false arrest. The District of Columbia Supreme Court upheld the defendants, the United States Supreme Court reversing.

The Kilbourn Court held that the House, in the absence of intent to legislate, had no authority to make "inquiry into the private affairs of the citizen," much less punish him for silence. The Justices concluded:

> This court does not concede that the Houses of Congress possess this general power of punishing for contempt. The cases in which they can do this are very limited. The House of Representatives is not the final judge of its own power and privileges in cases in which the rights and liberties of the subject are concerned, but the legality of its action may be examined and determined by this court.

If we are to judge the desires of the Chief Justice by the internal evidence of his Watkins opinion, Kilbourn, once he had got over the hurdle of intent, fitted his purposes with exactitude.

Prof. James M. Landis who, holding office under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was accounted a New Deal Liberal, expressed the Liberal consensus concerning Kilbourn in the *Harvard Law Review* of December, 1926, under the heading, "Constitutional Limitations on the Congressional Power of Investigations," wherein he wrote:

> . . . no standard of judgment can be developed from *Kilbourn v. Thompson.* Its result contradicts an unbroken congressional practice, continuing even after the decision, with the increasing realization that committees of inquiry are necessary in order to make government effectively responsible to the electorate.

Concerning the doctrine, so fervently announced by Warren, that a House of Congress or a committee thereof must explicitly state the immediate purpose of an inquiry in advance, Landis protested:

> That it must announce a precise choice before adducing evidence necessary for a proper judgment, is to insist upon leaping before looking, to require of Senators that they shall be seers. The grant of legislative powers by the Founders in 1789 carried no such implications.

Five Communists Acquitted

In the California Communist cases, this Court flagrantly demonstrated the truth of the late Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes' ironical aphorism that "the law is what the judges say it is." The majority, again with Justice Clark as the lone dissenter (although Justice Harold H. Burton demurred on one point), distorted the verb "organize" in the Smith Act out of recognition by its framer or the members of Congress who passed it. The Smith Act included the organization of the Communist conspiracy's myriad agencies, committees and "fronts." The Court confined the meaning to the reorganization of the Communist Party, U.S.A., in 1945, invalidating that section of the Act as bearing upon the defendants on the ground of the statute of limitations. Since the Smith Act became law in 1940, the Congress hardly could have brought the 1945 reorganization into purview.

The five defendants were acquitted on the ground of "insufficient" evidence. On this point, Justice Clark said:

> This Court should not acquit anyone here. In its long history, I find no case in which an acquittal has been ordered by this Court solely on the facts. It is somewhat late to start in now usurping the function of the jury, especially where new trials are to be held covering the same charges.

The Warren Court, never impressed by rights claimed by the states, found no difficulty on June 17 in denying the right of the New Hampshire Supreme Court to hold a Socialist editor, Paul Sweezy, in contempt for refusing to answer questions by the state's Attorney General, acting for the legislature, regarding a lecture Sweezy had delivered at the University of New Hampshire. The Attorney General was seeking to discover what affiliations Sweezy had, if any, with the Communist conspiracy. The Court's decision followed Kilbourn on the subject of legislative intent.

A tendency of the Court in 1930 to substitute personal inclination for principle moved the "Great Dissenter," Oliver Wendell Holmes, to a frank derogation of his colleagues. Dissenting in a case where the majority applied the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment against what he considered a constitutional right of Missouri, he wrote:

> As the decisions now stand, I see hardly any limit but the sky to the invalidating of those rights if they happen to strike a majority of the Court as, for any reason, undesirable.

Justice Holmes further doubted that the Fourteenth Amendment "was intended to give us carte blanche to embody our economic or moral beliefs in its prohibitions."

In the Steve Nelson case, the Court ruled that the Pennsylvania courts had no power to investigate or act upon Communist issues because the Smith Act pre-empted that field to the federal government. Congress had not so stipulated or intended. The Nelson decision had the effect of dismantling the investigative machinery of the many states inquiring into the Communist conspiracy.

The Warren Court's decisions in the so-called Communist cases from Nelson to June 17, in the sociologically-founded desegregation school case of 1954, the du Pont anti-trust case and the Girard College case which opened the door to the state's interference in the institutions and associations of society, indicate that this Court employs criteria, constitutional or not, that can fairly be termed, in lawyer's English, "terms of art."

Why?

What lies behind the Court's lenity toward witnesses and petitioners associated with the Communist cause? Who can tell what goes on in the somewhat commonplace minds of the Court's majority, none of whom was known as a leader of the bar or (except for the literate, mercurial Frankfurter) for any intellectual distinction before mounting the bench? All owe their immense dignity and well-remunerated lifetime jobs to accidents of patronage, religion or geography. The Chief Justice himself can only be supposed to hold his elevated office because he made the expedient choice at the

Kreuttner

"Although innocent as a baby, I'd be horribly incriminated if I answered that question!"

Republican National Convention of 1952: certainly no previous attainment as a jurist or scholar recommended him.

Why should the Court's majority steadfastly inhibit the Congress and the Executive arm in exercising vigilance against so awful an endeavor to destroy us? Frankfurter in the nineteen-twenties, Black in the nineteen-thirties, powerfully maintained the right of free inquiry to Congress against the citizen. Back in 1941, Earl Warren, rising to the governorship of California on the strength of his prosecutions of Communist mischief-makers as Attorney General, recognized the face of the enemy. The California Parole Board had freed three Communist goons, sentenced to twenty years for murder, after they had served only a little more than four years of their sentences. Warren expressed his outrage and scorn in a newspaper statement which ended:

> . . . The murderers are free today not because they are rehabilitated criminals but because they are politically powerful Communistic radicals. Their parole is the culmination of a sinister program of subversive politics, attempted bribery, terrorism and intimidation which has evidenced itself in so many ways during the past three years.

What warrant has Warren for believing that the "Communist radicals" are less potent now than in 1941? Or less "sinister," less gifted in "terrorism and intimidation"?

Justice Black, with Justice William O. Douglas, concurred in the California Communist cases but went further because they had dissented when the Court held the Smith Act constitutional. As part of his concurrence, Black wrote:

> The First Amendment provides the only kind of security system that can preserve a free government—one that leaves the way open for people to favor, discuss, advocate or incite to causes and doctrines, however obnoxious and antagonistic such views may be to the rest of us.

The statement, equating the right of the citizen freely to hold and present views, "however obnoxious," with the disciplined utterance and schematic program of world Communism's fabric of subordination, is either unbelievably naive or motivated by a hidden spring. Why should witnesses in 1957 with access to the methods and personnel which Moscow is using against us be relieved of the necessity of imparting when witnesses in 1936 were sternly enjoined to disclose all?

It has been said that the Warren Court could not more faithfully be advancing the Communist desire to conquer the United States from within if each week the Justices met to con and effectuate the latest instructions from the American branch of Agitprop in Moscow. The intimation is insupportable and shameful but the Court has laid itself open to it.

I prefer, being an easy man, to take the charitable view that this Court can no more decipher the will of the Kremlin than it can bring into workable knowledge the appalling fate of those countries which have fallen to Communism from internal corruption.

Warren-Black-Douglas Axis

Chief Justice Warren made his sure-footed way through the depression politics of California, the Ham-and-Eggs, Upton Sinclair's End Poverty In California and the old age pension gimmicks, opportunistically. Black, a former Ku Kluxer, is somewhat suspect in terms of integrity. Douglas, intellectually on the blowsy side, conditioned the Yale Law School to its current Social Relativity and dogmatic Leftism. He has been a kind of openfaced Rube among the artful dodgers of Soviet persuasion. Alone among ranking Americans, Douglas rejoiced at the Soviet Embassy last November over the anniversary of the October Revolution when Hungarian women and children were breathing their last under the shards of Red army tanks. Douglas seems to me incurably frivolous.

I doubt that the opportunistic Warren and Black and the faintly absurd, mountain-climbing Douglas would deliberately deliver their society and culture to the wolves of Moscow. I think it very likely that they would do so inadvertently, striving to make time with, for example, the intellectuals of the *Washington Post,* which, from condemning McCarthyism at the top of its lungs, went on to pillory something it called "committeeism."

The Warren-Black-Douglas axis on the Court lies, in my judgment, under the nihilistic blight of fashionable Liberalism. Intellectually inadequate, the Justices of the childish Left mistake the liberty of the citizen for the franchise of the Soviet subversionist. It pains me to say this, but I fear that we have a dumb core of the Court and a timid fringe. Justice Burton, who should know better, I put in that fringe.

Congress Has Recourses

The remedy lies, as always in a free society, with the people and their tribunes in the Congress. The Congress can scarcely forbear taking up the gage thrown by Warren *et al.* If Pat McCarran and Bob Taft were alive and functioning, I would have greater assurance regarding the outcome. The Congress cannot take the assaults in the Watkins case, the California cases and the Jencks case lying down unless it is willing to abdicate its constitutional functions and historical prerogative.

The issues are joined. To put it in vulgar terms, they lie between the arrogating political accidents in the plush-lined Supreme Court Building and the freely-elected representatives of the people across the Capitol Plaza.

The Congress has many recourses if it is bold enough to assert them. It controls the purse. The Congress could, if it so willed, reduce the salary of associate justices from $35,000 to $3,500 a year. That would inflict severe pain. The Congress could institute an inquiry into how the Court has become so indulgent toward persons associated with Communism. It could subpoena and punish for contempt before the Court could get around to interdicting such processes.

It would be illuminating to know why the Court exhibits such invariable tenderness toward citizens, or aliens, called before congressional committees to render an accounting of their commerce with the devil. We probably never shall know unless Congress finally reasserts its power as a historically co-equal branch of the government that constrains us all.

(Reprints of "The Court Reaches for Total Power" are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

A Thought for the Fourth of July

Thomas Jefferson had faith in the citizens of the young Republic. But he knew that only their informed interest in public affairs could prevent their government officials from becoming wolves

JOHN DOS PASSOS

"Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. do not be too severe upon their errors but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they become inattentive to public affairs, you and I, and Congress and Assemblies, judges and governors shall all become wolves."

This statement from the chief author of the Declaration of Independence, contains the marrow of his political philosophy.

Jefferson was writing—from Paris in January 1787—to his friend Edward Carrington who had recently been appointed to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress. There had been discouraging news from home of Daniel Shays' rebellion against what the farmers of Western Massachusetts considered to be unfair taxation. There'd been good news, too: plans for calling a convention in Philadelphia to work out a more effective union for the confederated states had finally matured and the delegates would soon be assembling. Taken out of the political battle for a while by his diplomatic post, Jefferson's mind had been working on the question: what are governments for?

Jefferson had been enjoying the architecture and the music and the salons of charming ladies and the wit and politeness of the Parisians, but—raised on the new-settled lands of piedmont Virginia, where a man had a chance to prove his worth according to his ability—he had never recovered from the shock of discovering that in Europe every man was, in Voltaire's words, "either the hammer or the anvil."

Carrington was a man of growing influence. Jefferson wanted him to stay on the popular side. In this letter Jefferson had been assuring him that Shays' riots had not damaged American credit abroad so much as some people feared. The fact that the majority of the people of Massachusetts sided with law and order had made a good impression. "I am persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army," he wrote " . . .the people are the only censors of their governors."

Even when mistaken, he insisted, resistance to authority would act as a reminder to the governors that it was their business to serve the people, and not the people's business to serve them.

Jefferson went on to explain that he was convinced that the Indians

who respected no authority but tribal custom were far happier than the people he had been seeing in Europe, where—"under pretense of governing"—nations were divided into two classes. These classes he described with his usual vehemence as "wolves and sheep."

Jefferson was telling Carrington, in the hope that he would pass the theory on to his associates in Congress, that man was an institution-building animal. The revolutionists of today became the vested interests of tomorrow. No class of men, not even men who had devoted their lives to the cause of individual liberty as he himself and as Carrington had, could be trusted with authority over their fellows. The institutions of class-conscious British society had, so far as America was concerned, been dissolved; but already Jefferson could see new institutions building up which, if the American people let them, might take away their liberties as effectively as King George's parliament had.

To Preserve Liberty

Jefferson's cure was "attention" to the public business on the part of every citizen. If the voters were fully and freely informed through a free press of all the pros and cons of every public question they would make wiser choices than an entrenched governing class which, under the pretext of doing what was best for all, would really be serving its own selfish interests. The people of the United States would preserve their liberties so long as they were sufficiently well-informed to understand the problems their country had to face.

"If it were left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter," he told Carrington.

When Jefferson added the important proviso that "every man should receive these papers and be capable of reading them," he was thinking of his plans for a system of free competitive education, from grammar school through college, which would sift out the best minds and train them in the public business.

One can't help wondering whether, in spite of the universal diffusion of mass communication and mass education today, Jefferson would have considered us "capable" of the "attention" needed to preserve our liberties.

Virginia

The Second Siege of Richmond

SAM M. JONES

Normally a gubernatorial election in the Commonwealth of Virginia is of interest only to Virginians, and that interest usually wanes after the Democratic primary. But this year it is different. Beneath the superficial aspects of a political contest are important national issues. Richmond is once more the beleaguered Capital of Dissent.

In the foreground are the presumptive candidates for Governor: State Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond (Dem.); State Senator "Ted" (Theodore Roosevelt) Dalton (Rep.). The Republican nominating convention meets July 5; the Democrats' primary is on July 9. Senator Dalton has indicated that he is not eager for the nomination, but he is by far the most formidable contender the GOP could name. As a gubernatorial candidate in 1953 he lost—but he harvested 45 per cent of the total vote cast. No other Republican candidate for the governorship has come close to that record in nearly a century. Most observers believe Lindsay will win, but Dalton (if he runs) is conceded something better than an outside chance. This is due in large part to the fact that Northern Virginia (Arlington and Fairfax counties, which border on Washington) is by no means wedded to the Democratic ticket. Since 1930 the population of this area has jumped from 78,000 to almost half a million. A large percentage is employed by the federal government and recent events, including elections, have provided proof positive of a strong Liberal sentiment.

The Issues

There are only two consequential issues: Segregation versus "moderate" segregation; and the "Byrd Machine." Under a program passed by the Virginia General Assembly, a central Pupil Placement Board was established in Richmond, with the authority to assign pupils to schools in all parts of the state, and the obligation to prevent the mixing of races. If a white school permits the enrollment of a Negro and refuses to accept his reassignment to a colored school, the law requires the Placement Board to cut off all state funds from the white school. As Attorney General, Almond was instrumental in the passage and enforcement of this legislation.

So far as I know there are no admitted integrationists seeking any public office at any level, but the "moderate" segregationists, of whom Senator Dalton is the most prominent, advocate that each community be permitted to segregate or not to segregate, at the discretion of each local school board.

The "Byrd Machine"

What is the sinister influence which the Liberals (mostly outside the state) attribute to the Byrd organization? In the Liberal dialectic, Senator Byrd's following is always described as "the Byrd Machine"—a delicate attempt to create an implication of guilt by false association. Remember the Pendergast "machine" in Missouri, the Hague "machine" in New Jersey, the Crump "machine" in Tennessee, the Kelly-Nash "machine" in Chicago, the Long "machine" in Louisiana, the Tammany "machine" in New York? Memories of crime and graft, vice and corruption are immediately touched off by the word "machine" in its political connotation. Constant repetition of the Big Lie or the Little Lie or the false comparison can be destructive to the lives of men in public office, as has been decisively proved in recent years. Senator Byrd's enemies readily concede that he was one of Virginia's most able and excellent governors; that the business of the Old Dominion has been extremely well-conducted during the long tenure of the "machine." No one denies that Harry Byrd as a Senator has the respect and esteem of countless Americans all over the country regardless of their partisan affiliations. But the Machiavellian whisper persists: "The Machine."

There are out-of-state forces actively engaged in the Virginia campaign. The *Washington Post and Times Herald* (owned by Eugene and Agnes Meyer) recently ran a series of articles on the coming election. The articles were objective, like Nehru's neutrality. The heaviest emphasis was placed on the fact that the Byrd organization usually elects the candidates. There were no accusations, no charges of graft or corruption, or maladministration. There were frank admissions of achievement — where the record was self-evident — but again and again the articles were studded with references to "the Byrd Machine." The electorate of Virginia was depicted as falling into three categories: the quality, the common people and the Negroes, with the gentry in the saddle, the "Little Fellow" lost in muddled admiration of his betters and Uncle Tom prostrate in the dust. It was deftly done, but will the "peons" and the "serfs" accept the portrayal and wreak vengeance on the "Byrd Machine," or will they look at their real lives and reject the caricature?

Incidentally, Harry Byrd is not a candidate for office although you might easily get that impression from the constant references to the Senator and his "machine." It might be mentioned that among the other indications of Virginia's horse and buggy faults—as the Liberals see them — was its enactment of the Right-to-Work Law, an obvious and flagrant affront to all merchants of the world of tomorrow, including Messrs. Reuther, Meany and Beck.

How will the election come out? I think the Democratic gubernatorial candidate will win. But, make no mistake about it, such a victory will not raise the second siege of Richmond or halt the all-out effort to destroy the local and national prestige and influence of Harry Flood Byrd. But if the country sees the real significance of this assault on a state and an individual there is still hope for the defeat of the enemy within and the restoration of traditional Americanism.

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Nightmare of Inflation

I must be excused for returning to an old story. It is a vitally important story for Britain, and thus not without importance for Britain's allies.

The bitterly controversial dispute in the shipbuilding and engineering industries was finally settled. British Railways had set the pattern of industrial peace by granting a conditional wage increase and then generously agreeing not to insist on the conditions. The final settlement was hailed as a triumph of Common Sense because the unions agreed, albeit reluctantly, to accept a twelve-month wage standstill in return for an immediate raise which will cost the employers an extra £70 million a year.

Simultaneously with the announcement of this settlement came the news that, for the first time, Britain had lost her supremacy as the world's builder of merchant ships. The Germans were now in first place with orders totalling 8,852,000 tons; Britain came second with orders for 7,660,000 tons; the Japanese were only just behind with orders for 7,175,000 tons. Worse still, as regards Britain's trading position, only 20 per cent of the British orders were for export, compared with 80 per cent of the German and Japanese orders. This ominous situation in Britain's leading export industry would clearly be worsened by the rise in costs resulting from the new round of wage increases. But it was hoped that this rise would be counteracted, at least in part, by the unions' agreement to reduce restrictive practices and allow a year's respite over wages.

Then, just two days after the settlement of the shipbuilders' claim, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers announced new demands which could hardly cost the employers less than another £85 million a year. The union leaders tried to excuse this spectacular breach of faith on the ground that their new demands were not direct pay claims.

What they want now is a reduction in working hours from forty-four to forty hours a week. If this were granted, nobody supposes the men would work only forty hours. They would continue to work their present hours—with the agreeable difference that another four hours a week would be counted as overtime and paid accordingly. This makes it for all practical purposes simply another pay claim.

The other new demand is for a flat rate increase of holiday pay. According to Mr. Brotherton, the President of the Confederation, this is not a wage claim but a moral issue. "When you are on holiday," he says, "it costs as much for kiddies' ice-creams and coach-tours whether you are skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled." This is an interesting argument which seems to point to the complete abolition of all differentials.

So there it is. How can anyone bargain with the unions if the unions will acknowledge no verdict except complete surrender to their demands, will accept no settlement as binding unless it happens to be wholly favorable to them? Any hope that recent troubles might result in a national wage policy was firmly squashed last week by the two largest general unions, both of which pledged themselves to resist all such ideas. Where then are the responsible union leaders with whom the employers are urged to negotiate?

The situation isn't helped when Mr. Gaitskell indicts the capitalist system and threatens shareholders because "they toil not, neither do they spin." If the Labor Party gains office, it will find again (as it found last time) that this kind of slogan-thinking is no answer to the real, intractable problems. But, meanwhile, the Conservative Party is in office, is pledged to check inflation, and is supposed by virtue of its general philosophy to protect the capitalist system. At the moment, it is signally failing to do these things.

The weakness of the nationalized industries, an unvarying retreat in the face of union demands, and an unchecked tide of government expenditures have combined to keep inflation going merrily ahead. Inflation weakens the pound and hits the country as a whole. Its effect, heightened by progressive taxation, on certain sections of the community has been put with horrible clarity in the current issue of a bank review:

> To take the established middle classes and above, it can be said that in 1938 about 14 per cent of all net personal incomes were received by persons getting more than £750 a year after tax. But by 1955 the share in net incomes of those receiving the 1955 equivalent of £750 in 1938, about £2000 a year net, had declined to 4 per cent. That is to say, the economic size of that pre-war group had been eroded down by three-quarters.
>
> A similar calculation in respect of the well-to-do in 1938—the surtax-payers of pre-war days—reveals that their economic importance had fallen from 8 per cent of spending power in 1938 to less than ½ per cent in 1955, at least fifteen-sixteenths of the way to extinction.

If anyone points this out to the Conservative policy-makers, they reply in righteous tones that theirs is not a class party; which hardly seems to justify them in conniving at an economic massacre on that scale.

The changes which have befallen this country since 1938 are probably more discernible to a visitor than to a Briton who has lived through them. The redistribution of wealth means that all large buildings are tending to become institutional; that large private benefactions or private collections have become almost impossible; that education and patronage of the arts has passed more and more into the hands of the State; that "uneconomic" newpapers and minority interests have found it increasingly difficult to survive unless the State supports them; that shoddiness and irresponsibility have been the marks of the time.

The inflationary process is to all intents and purposes irreversible. If it could be arrested now, little could be done to restore its victims. But it gathers impetus with each new wage demand, each new surrender, each new rise in prices. People with no powerful union to protect them can only look on helpless and horrified.

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Crisis in the Latin Countries

France and Italy are suffering under the impact of the unfettered anarchical tendencies of their inhabitants. The balance of liberty and order is quite easily achieved in the English-speaking nations, where self-control and moderation make it rather simple for government to impose its rules and regulations. It's different in the Latin world where individualism is rampant, where people think in absolutes, where ideology dominates the scene and personal animosities help to confuse the issues and render parliamentary procedure hopeless. The narrowness of Spain's Franco regime might be the lesser evil as compared with the dangerous flux and the total lack of continuity we see in France and Italy, countries whose gyrations remind the intelligent Spaniard that of all remedies to his woes "democracy" would be the least effective. Spain, in a sense, is a magnifying mirror for the rest of the Latin world: the *malaise* of France and Italy would be reproduced a hundredfold in Spain were she to adopt again what Metternich once called the *école anglaise*.

The last French cabinet fell because the ever-increasing group of "Conservatives" (a label more and more frequently used for the Independents) refused to support M. Mollet's program of taxation. Having no coherent doctrine, the Independents can keep in the good graces of their electors only by voting against every hardship. Though M. Mollet is a Socialist, his Government was energetic and pursued the pacification of Algeria, if not with great success, at least with determination. The Independents, on the other hand, are not capable of entering into a formal coalition with parties of the Left (Radical Socialists, Socialists). Nevertheless, they can either tolerate governments of the Left or eliminate them by refusing a vote of confidence.

To Americans, the French political spectacle often is entirely incomprehensible. Here is a nation with a high birth rate, enormous spiritual resources, an ever increasing standard of living, almost no unemployment, a still huge and mostly well-administered overseas empire; yet a nation with depleted finances and an impossible political system. Americans have a working "democracy"; why not the French?

Americans have advantages which France does not have. Partly it is the superior Constitution which, subtly clinging to a monarchical memory, casts the United States in the role of a "Presidential Republic," whereas France is a "Parliamentary Republic," which gives the country more democracy, but less stability. On top of it, there are two essential features of French political life which cannot be eliminated by any free constitution—the plurality of parties and the presence of ideologism in politics. And even, if, by some magic, it were possible to change France's parliamentary democracy into a more presidential and authoritarian version, the other two evils would continue to exist. It does not take a lot of imagination to visualize what the United States would be like if it had seven major parties, each one representing a different political philosophy.

Maurice Bourgès-Manoury, the new Premier, is considered a strong man. There is no doubt that he will do "something" in matters of finance. The inability of France to export more goods, and the ebb of gold and foreign currencies in the *Banque de France*, are problems of enormous urgency. The normal answer would be to devaluate the franc—an act tantamount to robbing the Little Man, and a further step towards shaking the average Frenchman's confidence in his country. So there is a great deal of hush-hush talk about a big German loan, which might prove quite a blow to French pride.

As things stand now, there are few observers who believe that France can solve her most urgent problems under the present system, because no French Government seems to be able to survive unpopularity. (Popularity, after all, is the very essence of parliamentary democracy.) In the meantime, the average Frenchman's suspicion and contempt for his government are growing by leaps and bounds. Frenchmen are dying in Algeria. Algerians massacre each other in their own country and in metropolitan France. Higher taxes, a radical restriction of imports, a miraculous increase in exports, a complete change of French parliamentary mentality—all seem but pious hopes.

In such a situation—if we look at other European examples—a dictator might come from somewhere outside the parliamentary machinery; but it is equally possible that circumstances will force a conventional political leader of France to assume, slowly or through a coup d'état, a dictatorial position. Dollfuss in Austria, during most of his political career, never dreamed of becoming a dictator. Nor did Pilsudski in Poland, nor Salazar in Portugal, nor Metaxas in Greece. Will Maurice Bourgès-Manoury, nephew of a *Maréchal de France*, be forced into a dictatorial role?

He may be out when this letter reaches New York—who knows? France's weariness of her parliamentary democracy, the exhaustion of the ideals of 1789, cannot be overrated. It is, needless to say, also quite possible that the dictator of France will be a stranger to the parliamentary scene—Marshal Juin, perhaps, or General de Gaulle, or even the Comte de Paris. Yet, whereas *dictatorship* in France is not beyond imagination, an ideological *totalitarianism* is unthinkable.

In Italy, the crisis is not less grave than in France. It is more fraught with personal animosities, and profoundly connected with the inner dissension of Italy's Christian Democratic Party. All of which proves the fact, well realized by the more serious and less popular analysts, that restorations at the bayonet point never work in the long run—neither the restoration of the bankrupt Bourbons in 1815, nor the restoration of bankrupt parliamentarism in 1945.

Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The Times *Finds Another Nice Communist*

Hope springs eternal in the breast of the *New York Times*—particularly hope that somewhere, sometime it can find a Communist who isn't really a Communist. Years ago it was Mao Tse-tung and his agrarian reformers; during the war, Stalin almost qualified; then it was Tito, then Malenkov, then Gomulka; and now it is Mao Tse-tung again.

In each instance this enthusiasm has been justified by a distorted interpretation of the statements of the Communist leaders themselves. In each instance in the past, even a moderate understanding of Communist language and of Marxist-Leninist theory, combined with elementary skill in exegesis, in the art of elucidating a statement against its conceptual background, would have been sufficient to establish unmistakably that the pet Communist of the moment was uttering good Communist doctrine, that he remained a Communist—and, by definition, our enemy. So it is now again with Mao Tse-tung.

Last February Mao stood before the Supreme State Conference of China and delivered a speech, "The Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." It was an able and striking analysis in the classical Marxist-Leninist tradition. Everything he said was firmly based upon Communist revolutionary principle; even the tactical propositions he propounded have their parallel in previous Communist history, notably in the period of Lenin's New Economic Policy. Only the particular application to China was new—that, and the peculiar grace that Chinese phrases translated into English always carry.

On June 18 the text of the speech was released, and the next day printed in full in the *New York Times*. That day and the day after the *Times* published several articles and an editorial commenting on the speech. Mao's unexceptionable Communist teaching, directed toward the instruction of the Chinese Communist Party and its followers at a specific tactical stage of the Chinese revolution, is hailed as a new doctrine, a break with totalitarian conceptions, an endorsement of "democratic freedoms."

What precisely did Mao say to bring about this dancing in the editorial rooms of the *Times*, this excited preparation of the fatted calf—with a seat in the UN Security Council, to boot? Nothing heretical, nothing that Lenin had not said again and again, that has not been repeated a hundred times in Communist classes and training schools. He enunciated the Hegelo-Marxist truism that everything existing moves by contradiction, unification, and new contradiction. He repeated with brilliant formulation and illustrations the classical theory that some contradictions can only be resolved by violence ("antagonistic contradictions"), while others ("contradictions among the people") can be resolved by ideological struggle.

What Mao is saying, in language that has been heard for decades in every Communist Party, is that the same measures must not be applied against "misguided elements" as against "the enemy." But who is "the enemy"? Quite frankly and openly Mao says that it all depends upon the strategical and tactical goals of the Party leadership at any particular time:

> The term "the people" has different meanings . . . in different historical periods. . . . During the Japanese aggression, all those classes, strata and social groups that opposed Japanese aggression belonged to the category of the people, while the Japanese imperialists, Chinese traitors and the pro-Japanese elements belonged to the category of enemies of people.
>
> During the war of liberation, the United States imperialists and their henchmen, the bureaucrat-capitalists and landlord class, and the Kuomintang reactionaries . . . were the enemies of the people, while all [who] opposed these enemies belonged to the category of the people.
>
> At this stage of building socialism, all [who] approve, support and work for the cause of Socialist construction belong to the category of the people, while those social forces and groups that resist the Socialist revolution . . . are enemies of the people.

The "people," then, are those who go along with the line of the Party at any given moment. They are the ones with whom one uses peaceful coercion; "enemies," "counter-revolutionaries," one "suppresses." Now that 15,000,000 of the latter have been murdered, there are, for the time being, comparatively few around; and the emphasis shifts to the more peaceful modes of dealing with those who do not understand every detail of what is expected of them. But, should the line change again, so that people who are now "people" become "enemies," or should a new crop of intrepid resisters arise, even under the present line, Mao's emphasis on the "non-antagonistic resolution of contradictions among the people" will quickly shift to "ruthless revolutionary action against the counter-revolutionaries."

Limited discussion among those who support "the socialist path and the leadership of the Party," emphasis for the time being upon bringing greater unity into the ranks of those supporters, rather than upon the earlier task of physically exterminating the most determined opponents of Communism: this, the *New York Times* calls "a recommendation for a 'blossoming' of democratic freedoms among the people."

Even granted that this tactical turn, this de-emphasis on violence, should last for a while, what, we may ask the *Times*, is the cheering about? If the regime consolidates its power with fewer lynchings and fewer firing-squads, if less blood shows, is the agony any less for the millions who die of internal hemorrhage under the tightening pressure of totalitarianism? And as for the United States, we are still explicitly foremost among the "enemies," against whom violence is the proper tactic.

How, in a word, on any basis, is there anything in Mao's speech to justify celebration? Why does the *Times* present the most able of living Communist leaders as a prophet of sweetness and light?

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Stones that Cry Out

Up seven flights of stairs in a great tumbledown house off the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh lives George Scott-Moncrieff, Esquire, man of letters. He has a country house and a town house, he says: the country house is a but-and-ben in the misty Isle of Eigg, away in the Hebrides; and the town house is his lodging in James's Court, a "condemned slum" of high dignity and character, where Hume and Boswell and Adam Smith lodged before him. Davy Hume dwelt here on the frugal allowance of sixpence a day; and Mr. Scott-Moncrieff lives nearly as frugally, boiling his tea among his books and papers, and writing better than almost anyone ever did in Murger's Latin Quarter. The floor of his lodging slopes at an alarming angle; but then, it has sloped so for centuries; and the splendid view from his windows of the Mound and the New Town is more than sufficient compensation.

Mr. Scott-Moncrieff is a man of spirit and stone. He writes novels and poetry and essays and plays; but he is best known for his books on Scottish tradition and Scottish buildings. Recently that admirable body, the National Trust for Scotland—which, like its greater sister the National Trust for England, preserves the architecture and the countryside of Britain—chose him to write a little book to mark the 25th anniversary of the Trust's foundation: *Scotland Dowry* (Edinburgh: Richard Paterson, 10s.6d).

When, a few years ago, Mr. Scott-Moncrieff wrote for the Edinburgh Festival a booklet on Scottish arts and crafts, a member of the sponsoring committee observed, "This is almost a work of philosophy." Now a work of philosophy is what any good book on national traditions ought to be; and *Scotland's Dowry* is that. On his first page, he declares nobly:

> The world about us is not merely ours. We possess it only because our predecessors appreciated and cherished it. We look at it through eyes that are not simply our own but to some considerable degree have learnt their vision from the eyes of others. The eyes of painters and poets, of craftsmen and farmers, and, more personally, of relations and friends who in our childhood, and since, have illuminated our ambience for us. The world seen, as it were, flat, with no associations, none of the subtle hints of other things, no correspdence with ideas and experiences that link us to the first great history of mankind, would be dull and meaningless, hardly sensuous at all.

Joubert, the wisest of modern Frenchmen, told his countrymen to cling tenaciously to the architectural monuments of their nation: "Conserve the things upon which your fathers have looked. These are the ties that bind one generation to another." So it is with George Scott-Moncrieff: he venerates the stones of Scotland because those stones—worked by many generations of masons like Thomas Carlyle's ancestors—cry out to men who have ears the experience of the ages.

Of all modern Western lands, Scotland has been the hardest upon her fine old buildings. Iconoclasts since John Knox, the majority of Scots—and I happen to know them as well as ever a foreigner can hope to know a people among whom he has dwelt for some years—seem content to let their splendid country houses sink into roofless wrecks and their douce old towns decay before the encroachments of the barracks-like "town council" housing-schemes. George Scott-Moncrieff, like Walter Scott before him, contends against the vandalism of purposeless "Progress." Upon the Mound one day, hard by James's Court, Scott exclaimed to Jeffrey, the Whig reformer, "No, no—'tis no laughing matter; little by little, whatever your wishes may be, you will destroy and undermine, until nothing of what makes Scotland Scotland shall remain." And since Scott spoke, Scotland has endured nearly a century and a half of demolition and neglect. Nowadays the bulldozers, those mechanical Jacobins, are hard at work in every Scottish shire; and men of taste and principle, like George Scott-Moncrieff, have their backs against the wall.

Mr. Scott-Moncrieff describes inimitably the big castles and little castles, the country houses, the little houses, the people and places, the wildernesses and the gardens that still make Scotland, despite all her own indifference, the delight of American visitors. "Aesthetic values," he writes, "are notoriously hard to define, and even to defend." The champion of architectural and natural beauty, in our time, tends to fall into a gentle despair; for the things he loves are not susceptible of statistical measurement:

> They are subtle and elusive, and sharply contrasting individual tastes often split the ranks of their champions. Yet we disregard or minimize them at our peril. I am sure that ugliness conduces more to crime, and to diseases of body as well as of mind, than does the lack of plumbing or kindred conveniences and comforts, but it is unfortunately much harder to legislate for beauty in our new towns and houses. The State has taken over many aspects of our care, and the Health Service has relieved private charity of many outlets, but the cause of beauty and amenity must always remain predominantly the concern of individual persons.

The National Trust for Scotland, a private association, recently saved the best part of the fine little cathedral-village of Dunkeld from annihilation; and, despite the grim diminishing of the sources from which private gifts to the Trust must come, it is extending its activities. Here in the United States, we have a recently-founded similar organization, the American National Trust. Its members are few, and its resources meager; no great American foundation has seen fit to help it with a generous grant. Yet our monuments are fewer far than those of little Scotland, and therefore ought to be more precious to us. I wish our own National Trust could find the money and the man for writing such a book as Mr. Scott-Moncrieff's.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Faulkner Recovered

ROBERT PHELPS

Before the war, and although he had already published his best books, Faulkner's reputation was small, intensive, recherché. Even as late as 1945, when Allen Tate called him "the most powerful and original novelist in the United States," he used a near-truculent tone, as though he were conscious of being thought eccentric. Then came a brisk revolution. First, Malcolm Cowley edited a Portable Faulkner. Then MGM made a successful movie out of *Intruder in the Dust*. Next a whole generation of graduate students began to prowl over Yoknapatawpha County with critical Geiger counters. Finally, in 1950, came the summons from Stockholm, to which Faulkner, less wise than Gide and Hemingway, responded not only in person, but with a scroll of self-consciously exalted rhetoric which may have delighted Bartlett's, but which had very little connection with the darkly lyric visions of *Absalom! Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*. Overnight, the tormented poet-novelist became an official pundit-celebrity.

We are so accustomed these days to the genius who is privately tempted by big money that we forget how equally often he can be publicly tempted by big missions. And as Auden has observed, "it is normally less confusing for the poor Muse to be goosed by a traveling salesman than by a bishop." A poet has only one duty: to watch what he loves, and then to write about it as exactly as possible. Abandoning Yoknapatawpha County, Faulkner traveled, made speeches and gave interviews.

In Japan, he promoted U.S. culture for the State Department; in Egypt, he wrote a scenario for Howard Hawks; back home in Jackson, Mississippi, he gravely pondered segregation. *Life* photographed his manuscripts. *Time* reported on his bourbon consumption. And then, with somber fanfare, his publishers issued a very long book called *A Fable*, which will probably remain as the definitive example of what can happen when a true genius dutifully tries to oblige a fulsome world, which has called him great, by writing a "great book."

Rather more recently, and ruefully, he wrote an essay on the loss of privacy, and assured an interviewer that all a writer needed was paper, pencil, food and whiskey. He must, since then, have heeded his own warning,

William Faulkner

for in *The Town* (New York: Random House, $3.95) he has come back to what he knows and what his words and feelings involuntarily and unpontifically respond to: the town he calls Jefferson, and the families he calls Sutpen, Compson, Sartoris Stevens and Snopes.

As the second part of a trilogy begun in 1939 with *The Hamlet*, *The Town* tells the story (the *yarn*, I'd rather say; for above all his other mighty gifts, Faulkner is the best yarn-spinner we have had since Mark Twain) of the rise of Flem Snopes, and of the concomitant, final decline of the dignity and order that was Jefferson, the Compsons, and the whole agrarian culture we call The South. Pieced together through the discursive recall of several onlooking narrators, this saga of white trash coldly conning its way into a bank directorship is lyric, loony, very ingenious, and without ever being pompously allegorical, echoes with larger meanings than its immediately racy goings-on seem to contain. There is zest on every page, and on at least two (316-17) a burst of the pre-Nobel quality of poetry that will make Faulkner's entire *oeuvre* permanent in our literature. For at his least, he remains one of the most awesome makers of sentences ever to use English.

Now that he is back in Yoknapatawpha County, I hope some graduate student—in lieu of another thesis on his imagery—will cut his telephone wires, so Rockefeller Plaza, Pennsylvania Avenue, UNESCO, MLA, KKK, NAACP, *et al* won't be able to reach him and take advantage of his good will. He has been exploited enough. Now we ought to leave him alone, in the world his passion has already consigned to a dozen unique books. He is only 59; unpestered, he may leave a dozen more, for the future to measure our imagination by.

From Dregs to Scum

All Rome Trembled, by Melton S. Davis. 346 pp. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.00

The usual effect of social upheaval is to enable the dregs of society to rise to status as scum. In Italy the war and its aftermath produced a copious froth at the top of the pot.

When the American forces occupied Rome, they found an eager and useful collaborator in a man named Ugo Montagna. After some early failures as a sneak thief and forger, Montagna had made a fresh start in life as a pimp, and during the German occupation had become one of the big operators on the black market. Under American protection he flourished mightily. He became a power behind the scenes in the Demo-Christian Party, and shared its triumph when the monarchy was replaced by a more modern government. He began to shovel out Marshall Plan funds to his friends, and himself enjoyed an apparently unlimited income. In recognition of his many virtues he promoted himself to the nobility with the rank of Marquis of San Bartolomeo and concocted a suitable genealogy.

In April 1953, the serenity of Montagna's life was disturbed by an unpleasant incident. He had obtained possession of a hunting preserve that had been confiscated by the republic when the King went into exile. Here his favored guests, the politically important in Italy, were invited to hunt pheasant by day and to sample by night the varied recreations recommended in De Sade's *Justine,* embellished with cocaine and heroin.

Among the participants in one such nocturnal *divertissement* were a girl named Wilma Montesi and a man who has been generally identified as Piero Piccioni, son of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, vociferous admirer of "everything American," jazz composer, and noted for certain unorthodox tastes. The girl, presumably rendered unconscious by an overdose of narcotics, was, partly and rather inconsistently clothed, carried to a neighboring beach, thrown into the water, and drowned. Someone was either flustered or careless, for the body was left in shallow water. It was found on the beach the next morning and, as luck would have it, seen by several persons, including a physician, before the police arrived.

The official report set back the time of the girl's death by some thirty-six hours and provided a circumstantial account of what had happened to her. This story was publicly accepted for some six months, but rumors circulated. As the circling reporters drew nearer and nearer to their quarry, it was a rare day on which some newspaper, undaunted by the threat or the reality of governmental prosecution, could not report a fresh bit of circumstantial evidence. The whole case became a flamboyant symphony conducted with *brio* and *bravura.*

Mr. Davis has written a dramatic account of the development of this complex scandal which eventually involved scores of men and women from cabinet ministers to the derelicts that haunt existentialist cafés. He has captured in his pages much of the excitement and suspense that Italians felt from day to day as they went to the stands for the latest editions of the various newspapers. But not content with this, he has attempted something quite beyond his powers. His efforts to make an epic out of a sordid crime and a glimpse of political corruption merely expose the superficiality of his knowledge of the Italian people, Italian culture, and Italian politics.

Although he admits that it is now unlikely that any one of the principals in the case will suffer more than temporary inconvenience, Mr. Davis somehow manages to see in the exposure of a malodorous upstart the Triumph of Democracy over Aristocracy. And although the majority of Montagna's playmates remain in positions of power, Mr. Davis, who shares the Liberal faith that Progress means rapid movement toward the Left, is as pleased with the present state of affairs in Italy as though he were President Gronchi's press agent.

Mr. Davis' understanding of Italian culture—or of culture in general—may be estimated from two comments. He hopes that Progress will speedily eliminate from Italian newspapers the "third page" which is traditionally devoted to short essays by distinguished Italian writers on literary, historical and artistic topics. Such reactionary stuff, you understand, is an offense to the Common Man. And he hails with delight the progressive degradation of the Italian schools through the elimination of "outmoded" scholastic standards.

Like all good Liberals, Mr. Davis believes that the way to attain social stability is to destroy all the restraints of tradition, and that the way to combat Communism is to imitate it. If he glimpsed the fact that the Demo-Christian Party in Italy has been captured in much the same way that the Republican Party has been captured by the New Dealers in this country, this was to him but another proof that even the stars in their courses fight for Progress.

REVILO OLIVER

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Good Second-Rater

The Short Reign of Pippin IV, by John Steinbeck. 188 pp. New York: The Viking Press. $3.00

Mr. Steinbeck bills this as a "fabrication." It proposes the restoration of the monarchy in France by a despairing Republic, and depicts what, thereupon, happens.

The book will delight readers who slogged through *East of Eden* and mourned the diminution of powers in *Sweet Thursday.* For it re-establishes Steinbeck in his forte. He has written two serious books of worth, *The Red Pony* and *To A God Unknown* (perhaps his least famed and finest work). But his broad strength generates from (or degenerates from)

the amorality of *Tortilla Flat* and *Canary Row*. Here he escapes the sentimentality that mars *The Pearl*, for his raffish characters keep him raffishly outrageous. And when he applies this roguery to French politics and mores in an extended burlesque, the reader gets some of the finest writing of a very good second-rater.

But this effort, while returning Steinbeck to his proper milieu, suffers from being too long and too precious. It is pretentious, besides. Steinbeck still seems under the miasma of *East of Eden* and *Grapes of Wrath*, oppressed by the feeling that he ought to Say Something Significant. So that while his commentaries on French political topsy-turvies, the Sagan Saga and existentialism can be uproariously funny, he stops too often to say, "Now don't forget the serious criticism which my little jokes conceal." And on almost every occasion, his "serious" connotations are banal.

F. R. BUCKLEY

Dogs' Life

Betty Bark Says . . ., by Van Zandt Wheeler. 44 pp. New York: Vantage Press. $2.00

Betty Bark, authority on canines' problems, runs a column in the *New York Tribulous-Times*. Her answers to inquiries, written in the best Dorothy Dix tradition, supply an amusing hour.

Some of the comedy stems from the application of kennel vocabulary. But the best of it involves problems of caste (not associating with mongrels or the lesser breeds), roving spouses, ungrateful pups, and such comments on the world scene as this by a dog who accompanied his master on a government mission abroad:

> They're giving away thousands and thousands of hair clippers to dogs in the cold countries, and more thousands of heavily quilted sleeping baskets to dogs in the hot countries, plus millions of packages and bags of our best brands of food to dogs everywhere, to make them love us and be our friends. It's all frightfully important, they say.

The author, formerly a feature writer for New York newspapers, obviously understands dogs—and people.

M.W.

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Jesting Apostle: The Private Life of Bernard Shaw, by Stephen Winsten. 231 pp. Dutton. $5.00

As Shaw's neighbor at Ayot St. Lawrence, Mr. Winsten has made a good living out of the master. This is his fifth book on the subject, not counting prefaces. Mostly anecdotal, it nevertheless covers Shaw's entire lifetime and reproduces some good photographs. But it will do nothing to alter the image of Shaw which he himself spent nearly a century setting up: of a man for whom emotional as well as bodily self-preservation was an absolute vocation.

Elizabethan Quintet, by Denis Meadows. 304 pp. Macmillan. $3.50

Five short biographies of lesser known Tudors, from Walsingham, inventor of the secret service, to Mary Frith who organized London's pickpockets. What originally attracted Mr. Meadows to the Elizabethans was their phenomenal energy. "From our worried fifties of the 20th century," he says, "we look back on the first Elizabethans and marvel." And speaking as a Briton, he adds that "the modern American is the [*sic*] spiritual heir of the Elizabethans . . ." This is certainly a pleasant change from the usual anti-Americanism that glowers at us from across the Atlantic, but, on the other hand, and at the risk of impolitely looking a gift horse in the mouth, exactly where would some concrete evidence of this spiritual inheritance be found? In Ed Murrow? In Elvis Presley? In Ike Eisenhower?

The Wonderful O, by James Thurber. Illustrated by Marc Simont. 73 pp. Simon and Schuster. $3.50

Some wicked pirates plunder an island in search of hidden gold and, when they cannot find it, punish the natives by outlawing everything that has the letter "o" in its name. As in *Many Noons*, there is a moral at the end, this time about Freedom, but it is the beginning and the middle of the story that are liveliest for their whimsical invention on the theme of what happens when all the "o"s must go. (For instance, a lady named Ophelia Oliver nearly dies of of shame.) All of Thurber's peculiarly ingenuous ingenuity — or maybe it's ingenious ingenuousness— is here again, and though the master's own doodles are missing, Marc Simont's are so apt a stand-in that it is perverse to mention it.

Man Unlimited, by Heinz Gartmann, Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. 213 pp. Pantheon. $4.50

Mr. Gartmann's study is concerned with the relation of technology's mushrooming horizons to the human creature's somatic endurance: e.g., whether a couple of hundred pounds of man can be projected at infrasonic speeds without profound physical reversals. He offers a lot of interesting facts and, on the whole, remains optimistic. What seems to concern him least is the relation of these same horizons to a man's psyche and soul. Technology has imparted to human beings not only new power, but new pride, which, even in an electronics laboratory, "goeth before a fall." Because he can now travel at 700 miles an hour, a man may very easily presume that he is commensurately wise, understanding, and just. The ratio does not follow, of course, and the most hopeful thing about his imminent attempts to challenge outer space is that he will maybe discover not the moon but a new humility.

Life at Happy Knoll, by John P. Marquand. 167 pp. Little, Brown. $3.75

A parody of Marquand, unintentionally written by Marquand himself, in the form of letters exchanged by various members of a golf club about their wives, daughters, whimsies, foibles, and internecine niceties. The question is, do such people actually see themselves this way, or is Mr. Marquand, anxious to please, doing all the lying on his own? In the latter case, he should stick to Mr. Moto, which ought to pay just as well and leave his conscience less suffocated.

(Reviewed by Roger Becket)

To the Editor

The Cult of Technocracy

I was certainly very impressed by Willmoore Kendall's article, "Free Time on His Hands" [April 13]. It is important that someone should point out that the USSR is not the only modern state to adopt a secular religion. We have done so too, and in a form no less dangerous than Russia's to the prospects of the eventual survival of traditional culture and society.

A moment's reflection reveals the horror of such an idea as this:

"Probably the new General Motors Technical Center stands, in its simple functional utility, as the symbol of advanced technology quite as much as the Amiens Cathedral was representative of the older ordered society of Catholic Europe."

It is too true! And so is Mr. Paul Douglass' figure of "a potent contemporary trinity—the scientist in his laboratory, the engineer in his drafting room, and the industrialist in his factory."

. . . The cult of the automobile stands in relation to the over-all religion of Technology (or "techniolatry" if I may coin a semantic monstrosity) as did the cult of a particular Saint in the Middle Ages to Catholicism in general. I mention two matters that may or may not fit into the picture:

1. In Silver Springs, Md., there is an auto agency with a building that, viewed from many angles, dominates its area of the skyline. Atop this edifice shines a new hardtop convertible which is at night brilliantly floodlighted, while the rest of the building is darkened. The effect is one of a vision in the sky—which it probably is to the devotees of the cult. Medieval mystics saw spiritual visions in the air; nowadays, in the era of democracy and equal opportunity, everybody sees a vision. . . .

2. My second point concerns a wrecked car which was displayed on a green here in Baltimore ostensibly as a safe-driving reminder. However, it struck me as something closer to the twentieth century's version of the medieval memento-mori. . . .

Baltimore, Md. J. D. FUTCH III

By Request . . .

"Chappaqua Builds its Dream School"

Priscilla L. Buckley's recent article (June 1) which showed what the new "superschools" mean to the taxpayer, is now available in reprint form.

15¢ each, $10 per 100

Department R

NATIONAL REVIEW
211 East 37th St.
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No Time for Sergeants

I got a laugh out of Specialist 3/c William Girard's kinfolk trying to see the President. Who do they think they are? And who do they think is in the White House—Abraham Lincoln? The current occupant is much too big a wheel to have any time for plain Americans in distress. If you want to see him, you should be a Hindu Socialist politician on a blackmailing hunt for U. S. taxpayers' money. Then you'll get the big grin and the big hello right on the front porch.

New York City JAMES M. FRANKLIN

Sympathetic Professors

Professor Kohr's article "Academic Narcissism" [June 29] is a distorted, superficial, and over-simplified essay on the problems of college teaching. . . . His ideas of teaching would be effective (possibly) only in a small, highly specialized seminar limited to Ph.D. candidates, and would constitute an abuse of his contract and vocation as a teacher in a class of more than seven students.

It has been my good fortune to have studied, in the graduate schools of the University of North Carolina and at Cornell, under many professors. . . . Most of my professors were both internationally-renowned scholars and excellent teachers with a warm, sympathetic interest in their students. . . . No one should be permitted to teach in a college who regards his students merely as distractions from his research.

R. MORGAN LONGYEAR, PH.D.
Baltimore, Md.

Missing Piece

I enjoy your magazine very much. It helps me fit the pieces together from other news sources.

Darlington, S.C. GEORGE H. SIENER

Nature's "Old Look"

Evidently the House Army Appropriations Subcommittee is so bogged down in legislative law that it cannot recognize a natural law even in the harmony of colors. In your item "Washington fashion note . . ." [June 8] you point out the committee's concern about the Army's green garrison caps clashing with the tan summer uniforms. Since when does green clash with anything? Nature provides green foliage with every color of flower and fruit.

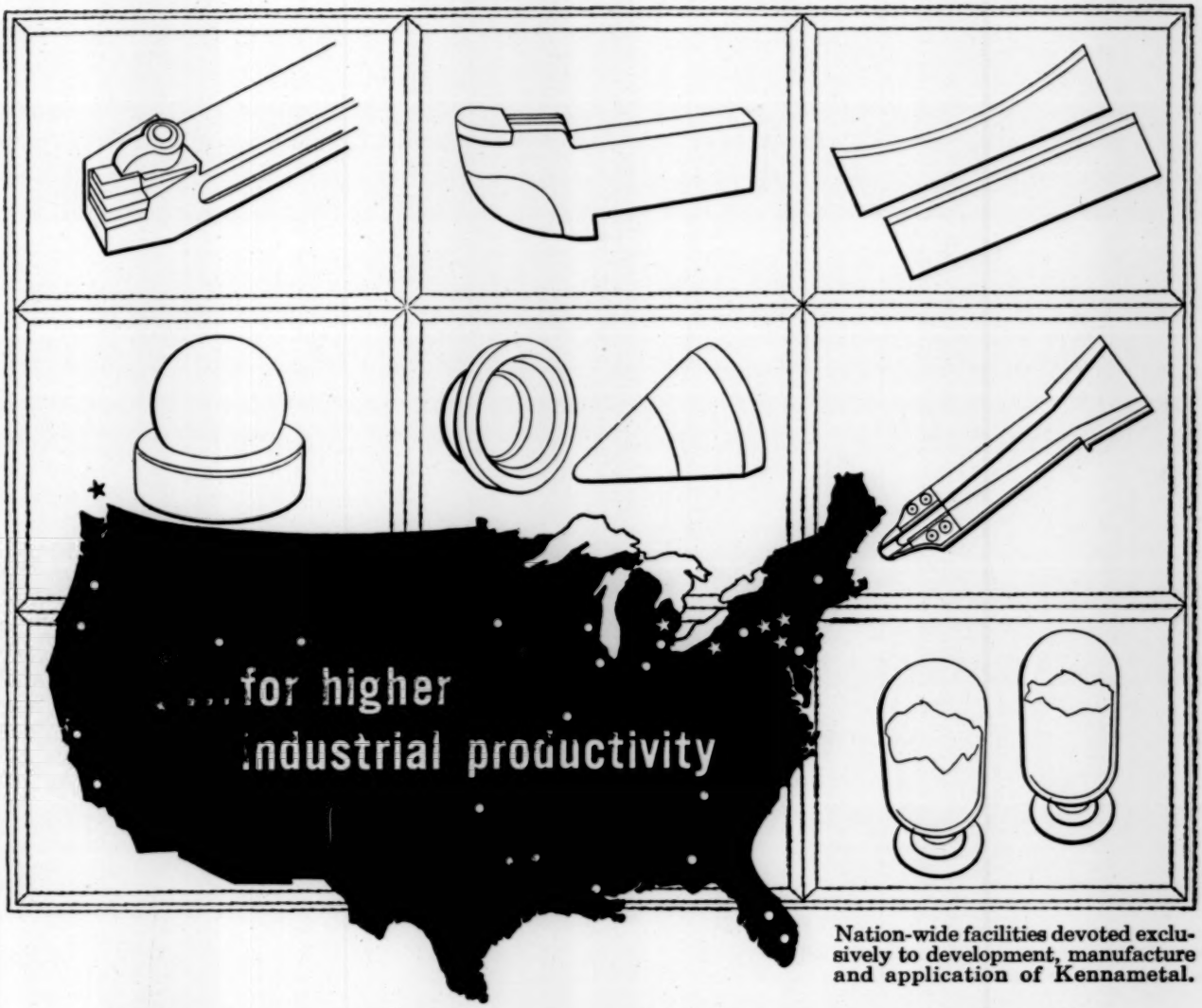
New York City DOROTHY SARA

Constitution Study Group

Friends of NATIONAL REVIEW are welcome at any time to attend the meetings of the New Constitution Study Group. During the summer, meetings will be held on the following Thursdays: July 11, 25, August 8 and 22, in Room 33 at the Henry George School, 50 East 69th Street, New York.

I was particularly impressed with the editorial "Has Congress Abdicated?" [June 29]. A number of us have recognized for some time the public's indifference to many of these Supreme Court decisions. We attribute it to the fact that not enough people know what the Constitution is all about. So that's the job, however small may be the scale, that our group is attempting to perform. . . .

EDWARD P. SCHARFENBERGER
New York City



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